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A SKETCH
OF THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
CAPT. R. A. PAUL.

AN AUTHENTIC AND ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF HIS CAREER FROM BOYHOOD
TO THE PRESENT TIME; CONTAINING A RELIABLE ACCOUNT OF THE
POLITICS OF VIRGINIA FROM 1874 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

correct
BY PROF. D. B. WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "THE NEGRO RACE, THE PIONEER IN CIVILIZATION," "A LECTURE ON THE
SUN," "WHY WE ARE BAPTIST," ETC., ETC.



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PREFACE.

No department of reading can be more interesting and elevating to the young and ambitious than that of biography. The difficulties overcome, the obstacles surmounted, the courage displayed, and the various methods of achieving success as manifested in the lives of men, tend to reveal the true, "royal road" of life. The rich literature of the English, French, Italians, Germans, and other nations is profusely enlarged by biographical writings. The interesting but somewhat meagre literature of the Colored People of America is adorned with but little such. This fact, too, furnishes us with a ground of hope that this volume will be received by an indulgent public with the same friendliness and generosity with which my "The Negro Race, the Pioneer in Civilization" and "A Lecture on the Sun" were accepted but a short time ago.

It is my sincerest desire that it may inspire our young men with a lofty ambition to rise in the scale of manhood, and to live so nobly that their lives will be worthy of recording.

It is also hoped that other gentlemen who have achieved glory for their people in the arena of politics may record their lives for the benefit of coming generations.

THE AUTHOR.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CAPT. R. A. PAUL.

CHAPTER I.

The Birth and Boyhood of Paul—The Place of his Birth—His Slave Parentage—Their Intelligence and Good Character—His Grandfather, Richard Madison—His Remarkable Self-culture and Zeal in Instructing his Grandchildren—Young Robert Bound Out.

"A home, that paradise below
Of sunshine and of flowers,
Where hallowed joys perennial flow
By calm, sequester'd bowers."

In Nelson county, Virginia, the pleasant station of Lovingsston nestled between the rugged, jagged sides of lofty mountains.

It was situated in the midst of a country characterized by the thrift and intelligence of its inhabitants, and the fertility of its soil.

In this prosperous and cultured district Robert Austin Paul was born on November 3, 1846. Like most of his race who were born on America's fair soil, he was descended from slave parents. But unlike the vast majority of the victims of the brutal and inhumane system of slavery, his parents had obtained a good and laudable knowledge of letters. By an invincible perseverance, an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and an incessant application, they had acquired that development of reason which demonstrates the superiority of man over the instinctive brute creation.

They were not simply regarded as intelligent, but esteemed for honesty and purity of character. They were widely known in their immediate neighborhood as trustworthy, sober, Christian servants. The grandfather of our subject must not be slightly overlooked.

Richard Madison was well known by almost every man in the limits of Nelson county, not only for the uprightness of his demeanor, but also for his more than ordinary intelligence. So devoted was he to the cause of culture and so sensible of its many blessings, that he determined to bestow upon his children and grandchildren the glorious fruitage of his patient study and reflection.

The laws of Virginia from 1819 to the close of the late unpleasantness were rigid and uncompromising in antagonism to the impartation of knowledge to servants. It is true that notwithstanding the explicit declaration of the statute schools for free persons of color were in existence until the memorable Nat Turner insurrection of 1831.

On the 7th of April, of that year, a harsh and unfeeling enactment was passed forbidding any person to instruct either a free-man or a slave. Notwithstanding the intense earnestness and consequent labor of the whites to exclude from the domain of letters the depressed, crushed and bleeding slave; in spite of the voices and votes of prejudiced statesmen, a few heroes and heroines diligently availed themselves of every means and device to acquire the coveted prize. Richard Madison, by the most praiseworthy zeal in the pursuit of education, had arisen to somewhat the dignity and importance of a pedagogue to his own family. His methods of instruction as well as his system of discipline were equally signalized by simplicity and effectiveness. According to the prevailing custom of the educators of the children of slaveholders, the old gentleman first taught his pupils the art of reading, then that of spelling. After the weary toil of the field or stable he nestled about himself the little members of his household. Those were the days of which the skillful poet has so well written :

“The luckless urchin learned to trace
The day's disasters in his master's face.”

The harsh rigor and severe strictness of the pedagogue of the little country school were closely imitated by the slave instructor. The unfortunate child who failed in his recitations was sure to receive not only cutting rebukes, but also painful floggings.

It was the constant wish of the old gentleman to train the young mind of Robert in the useful art of reading and spelling. To consummate his desires, he, on a merry Christmas, purchased for little Robert the famous New York Speller. But the worthy designs of the devoted grandparent were soon frustrated. He sorrowingly beheld his young favorite bound out for food and clothing to an ignorant and unpolished white neighbor.

Robert entered the dark, uncongenial surroundings of his new home in the year 1852. Before he had mastered a knowledge of reading he was forced to toil for a man and his wife who were as incapable of repeating the letters of the alphabet as the most ignorant slave on a Louisiana plantation.

CHAPTER II.

Paul Emerges from Slavery—His Freedom—His Efforts to Improve his Mind—His Mother his Teacher ; so Washington, Ames, Clay, Jackson, and Rutledge were left to the guidance of their Mothers—The Sayings of West, Buxton and Langdale—His Studies in Grammar, History, and Law.

“ Rich are the diligent, who can command
Time, nature's stock ? and could his hourglass fall,
Would, as for seed of stars, stoop for the sands,
And, by incessant labor, gather all.”—*D'Alephant*.

Robert Austin Paul, by the inexorable logic of events, emerged in April, 1865, from the gloom of slavery to the cheer of liberty.

After a partial subsidence of his high ecstasy at the possession of freedom, the duties and responsibilities of his new condition became more apparent.

He studied his principle defect, and sought, with laudable zeal, to remedy it. He, alone, of his beloved family, was incapable of reading and writing. The young ladies with whom he was wont to associate were able to boast of these acquirements. These were sources of mortification and sorrow to him.

He had, too, a laudable ambition to engage in public matters ; but he firmly believed himself incapable for such grave concerns. He, at length, fully determined to absent himself from the recreations and enjoyments of social life, till he knew the elements of knowledge and could exercise them. Notwithstanding the arduous duties of his position in a hotel, he found not a little time to expend in the pursuit of letters. The golden moments which were carelessly wasted by some of his fellow-workers were studiously husbanded by him.

Many a time after the servants had gone to their several homes he remained at the hotel faithfully cultivating his intellectual powers. His instruction was under the patient supervision of his affectionate mother. She, by a most zealous perseverance,

had obtained, while in slavery, a knowledge of letters. Night after night that tender parent lovingly imparted to him the needed culture. Thus he grounded himself in the fundamental principles of education, and laid a foundation for loftier attainments.

It is a conspicuous fact in the biography of many eminent men that a large number of them were left in boyhood to the guidance and training of their mothers.

George Washington—"first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—received in early years only the kind and watchful supervision of a loving mother.

Fisher Ames, John Rutledge, Winfield Scott, Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson are other notable examples.

This great fact is in utter contradiction to the commonly accepted belief that the mind of woman is weaker than that of man for government, administration and controlling influence. But the undivided judgment of the mother, her holy conscientiousness in the performance of duty, her invincible perseverance, combine to impart to her son those grand principles—virtue, honesty, courage, industry and perseverance—which alone make men great.

"A kiss from my mother," said West, the eminent artist, "made me a painter."

The great Fowell Buxton once wrote to his mother: "I constantly feel, especially in action and exertion for others, the effects of principles early implanted by you in my mind."

Lord Langdale, looking back upon the admirable example set by his mother, declared: "If the whole world were put into one scale and my mother into the other, the world would kick the beam."

It was a noble tribute to the character and nobility of womanhood when the thoughtful poet wrote:

" Blessings on the hand of woman ;
Angels guard her strength and grace
In the palace, cottage, hovel,
O ! no matter where the place.

Would that never storms assailed it,
 Rainbows ever gently curled ;
 For the hand that rocks the cradle
 Is the hand that rocks the world.
 Woman, how divine your mission
 Here upon our natal sod ;
 Keep, O, keep the heart open
 Always to the breath of God.
 Blessings on the hand of woman ?
 Fathers, sons and daughters cry ;
 And the sacred song is mingled
 With the worship in the sky,
 Mingles where no tempest darkens,
 Rainbows ever more are curled,
 For the hand that rocks the cradle
 Is the hand that rocks the world."

R. A. Paul, like West, Buxton, Langdale ; like Clay, Garfield, Jackson and Ames, will ever hold, fresh in memory, the deeds of self-sacrifice performed by his tender mother.

Having secured the elements of reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic, he manfully determined to ascend still higher the pleasant hill of knowlege. By a systematic study of English grammar he acquired a good degree of accuracy in both writing and speaking. By diligent application to the study of United States history he obtained a clear understanding of the great principles on which the Republic is founded and the methods by which it is administered. He began an extensive course of reading in English History, Ancient History and Blackstone's Commentaries.

CHAPTER III.

The Public Career of Paul begun—A Candidate for Congress in 1874—
His Support of Hayes in 1876—His support of Newman for Congress in
1878.

“The busy world shoves angrily aside
The man who stands with arms akimbo set
Until occasion tells him what to do.”

The brilliant and successful public career of our subject had its beginning in the fall of 1874.

In 1868, General U. S. Grant was elected President of the United States, and in 1872 re-elected to the same position. During these memorable and exciting campaigns R. A. Paul played no active part.

In the fall of 1874 Ex-Governor Gilbert C. Walker, the Democratic nominee for Congress from the Third Congressional District, was in opposition to Hon. John Ambler Smith.

Hon. John Ambler Smith, the Republican standard-bearer, having withdrawn from the contest, a mass-meeting held by the citizens of Richmond heartily endorsed Captain R. A. Paul as a candidate for the Forty-fourth Congress. The Richmond *Dispatch* of October 31, 1874, contained the following account of his candidacy: “At eight o’clock a very large crowd of Colored People, who had been the friends of Mr. Smith, gathered at Samaritan Hall. The meeting was soon organized with J. C. Whindleton as chairman, and Manson Logwood as secretary.”

“The following resolutions were presented and adopted:

“Whereas it appears from a card published by the Hon. John Ambler Smith in the public press of yesterday that he has withdrawn from the contest as the Republican standard-bearer for the Forty-fourth Congress—

“*Resolved*, That we deeply deplore the withdrawal of our honored friend, John A. Smith, as our first choice for Congress.

"Resolved, That we, the Republican voters in mass-meeting assembled, in view of the situation our party is placed in by the withdrawal of Hon. John Ambler Smith, find it necessary to support a gentleman of our choice whom we find in our well-known and well-tried fellow-citizen Robert A. Paul, Esq., who has announced himself as a candidate, and who is prepared to enter the field as an honest and unflinching Republican.

"Resolved, That we pledge him our hearty and undivided support, and that we call upon all good Republicans to rally to his standard."

Though a candidate but several days prior to the election, he polled a goodly number. Paradoxically speaking, his defeat was a success. If Gilbert C. Walker attained the exalted position of Congressman of the nation, Robert A. Paul obtained a lofty one in the confidence of the people.

The strong and ardent support, the selection of him by the people, the number who voted for him, and the happy congratulations received, imparted to him a renewed aspiration to benefit and assist his race.

In the election for the Legislature of 1875 our subject was inactive because the Republicans were in a state of apathy. Even when all the energy possible was infused into the ranks of the Republicans of the State during the Presidential campaign of 1876 the Republicans were without hope. Before immense throngs of people he boldly and vigorously supported Hayes in opposition to Tilden.

During the political campaign which resulted in the election of Governor Holliday, the Republicans nominated no opposing candidate.

In 1878 he warmly supported W. W. Newman for Congress against Joseph E. Johnston. During this interesting struggle, which resulted in the election of Joseph E. Johnston, he gained no little prominence by the energy, vim and sagacity of his political speeches.

CHAPTER IV.

The Rise, Growth and Reverse of the Readjuster Party—His Prominence Chiefly due to the Rise and Growth of the Readjuster Party—The Cause of the Rise of that Party—The Readjuster Convention of February 25, 1879—Its Men and Principles—The Readjuster Victory of November, 1879—Why Captain Paul did not play a prominent part in 1879.

“Congenial passions souls together bind,
And every calling mingles with its kind,
Soldiers unite with soldiers, swain with swain,
The mariner with him that roves the main.”—*F. Lewis.*

But the political and public prominence of Captain R. A. Paul is especially due to his connection with the progress of the Readjuster party. The organization of that party marked one of the most important political revolutions ever witnessed in Virginia.

A division occurred in the ranks of the ruling party and the strongest inducements were made to the Colored voters of the State to sustain each.

A party which had boasted of its granite nature found itself sundered. It quickly saw the power of State pass into the strong hands of its newly risen antagonist.

The underlying cause which gave birth to this new party was a deep-seated dissatisfaction with the old political party. It was vigorously argued that the Bourbon Funder party had for eight years proven its unfitness and incapacity to rule the affairs of State; that it was guilty of maladministration of office, and that it shackled suffrage.

The Bourbon Funder party as early as 1871 passed the funding bill, by which it was sought to foist upon the State a principal of \$31,000,000 with interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. When the State government was restored in 1870 there was no floating debt. But after ten years of mismanagement the floating debt amounted to \$1,969,142.69 with only \$22,494.09 in the treasury.

For the eight years beginning with 1871-'72 and ending with 1878-'79 the annual average of expenses of government under the Bourbon rule was \$1,084,664.74. To meet the enormous interest and heavy expenses a heavy taxation was unavoidable.

For the same reason also the public schools did not and could not receive that support so essential to their highest prosperity.

The legislature passed the Free School Bill, and the system had its first year of practical operation in 1871.

In that year there were 3,047 schools, boasting 131,088 pupils; in 1879 there were 2,491 schools, having 108,074 pupils. Thus the number of schools and the number of pupils were greatly diminished.

The founders and moulders of the Readjuster party not only claimed that under the unwise rule and legislation of the Funders that the poor were burdened with a ruinous taxation and the education of the masses greatly retarded; but also this condition of affairs prevented timid capital from flowing into the State, and that it partially paralyzed her industries and precluded her progress.

Such increasing zeal and power did the new cause acquire that a conference of Readjusters was convened in the House of Delegates on the 16th of January, 1879. Hon. A. Fulkerson held the honored position of chairman, and J. H. Robinson secretary.

That able and determined body decided to call a convention of Readjusters to be held in Richmond on Tuesday, the 25th day of February, 1879. That convention, long to be remembered in the political history of Virginia, met at Mozart Hall on the 25th of February, 1879. Major V. Vaiden was chosen permanent chairman, and Charles M. Webb secretary.

That convention was remarkable in several respects. Within it were some of Virginia's ablest, bravest and best sons. There were the able statesman Mahone, the richly eloquent Riddleberger, and the bold reasoner Captain John Paul; there were the cunning, successful Fulkerson, the indefatigable worker, John E. Massey, and the incisive orator, Captain Frank Blair; there, too

were the stout-hearted McCaull and other eminent Virginians too numerous to mention.

Throughout its entire deliberations there was an ennobling harmony. Personal differences, jealousies, and distinctions were mutually forgot.

But that convention was chiefly remarkable from the fact that it placed the Readjuster party upon a solid foundation. It gave to the new political force permanency. It made it tangible to the people by declaring principles which all could comprehend. The following were the grand principles enunciated by it:

I. Virginia fully recognizes her just liability for her fair proportion of the public debt contracted before the territory was divided into separate branches.

II. Virginia cannot be liable for that part of the debt which should attach to West Virginia.

III. In settlement annual interest must be brought within her revenue as derived from present rate of taxation.

IV. The capacity of these revenues to meet such interests must be determined by deducting therefrom the necessary expense of government, the apportionment to the schools, and a reasonable apportionment to charitable institutions.

V. Virginia should deal honestly with her creditors, and should never place either the claims of her revenues or obligations in the hands of intermediates who are not completely under her direction.

VI. The rate of taxation is as high as can be borne.

VII. It is the will of the people to cherish and foster the public school system, so that no child shall be deprived of the blessings of education.

The experienced and skillful leaders of the new party did not fail to strenuously advocate these popular principles before the people. It is not the least surprising that the contest for the election of members to the Legislature was characterized by unusual ardor, passion and bitterness. The advocates of each political party were determined to win. But in spite of the combined support of Federal authority, State patronage, precedent

and a large sum of money, the rising political power gained a signal victory. .

As far as can be ascertained, the Readjusters polled on Tuesday, November 4, 1879, between 12,000 and 15,000 more than the Funder party. It must be remembered that the great issue on which the Readjuster party rode into power was the "Debt Question."

Many honest and pure-minded men of both races earnestly contended that the State was morally and legally compelled to pay to the creditors a sum amounting to thirty-three millions of dollars in round numbers. Others, equally as earnest and upright, vigorously maintained that the debt was contracted before the war; that property had greatly depreciated since; that the State was totally incapacitated to the full indebtedness, and that West Virginia should bear a portion of the debt, as she was a part of Virginia when the debt was contracted. The total indebtedness of Virginia, according to their calculation, was in round numbers twenty-one millions of dollars. The majority of the people of the honored old Commonwealth heartily endorsed the views of the Readjusters concerning the debt, and sent to the Legislature 23 senators and 56 members of the House.

The Richmond *Whig* of November 10 contained the following: "We have 23 senators and 56 in the House, with well-founded hopes of one more senator and two more delegates."

This Legislature boldly attempted a settlement of the debt according to their platform, but was defeated by the veto of Governor Holliday. It succeeded, however, in the election of General Wm. Mahone to the United States Senate.

It may be thought strange that Captain R. A. Paul played no part in the great political campaign of 1879. His cool, conservative, deliberative nature led him to carefully watch its declarations and actions ere he should lend it his enthusiastic support. There were certainly sufficient reasons for his so doing.

Those who had been the bitterest and most dangerous foes to the Colored People were calling for their support. The one who had hurled hundreds of colored soldiers into the death-fraught

crater of Petersburg had announced himself the leader and director of the new party. They who had fought on the field of blood and labored in the arena of politics to deprive the Colored man of his constitutional rights now proclaimed that Colored men should enjoy the full rights and prerogatives of citizens.

Captain Paul was quietly waiting to ascertain whether any "good thing could come out of Nazareth." While fully realizing that "as long as the lamp holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return," he was anxious to know whether or not the sinners had really returned.

CHAPTER V.

Paul's Political Achievements of 1880 and 1881—His Contest with Dr. Mills for a Seat in the Staunton Convention of 1880—His Published Views in 1881 Concerning the Republican and Readjuster Parties—The Colored State Convention of March 14, 1881—The Readjuster State Convention of June 2, 1881—The Readjuster Victory of 1881 with a Majority of 11,304—The Good Performed by the Readjuster Legislature.

" He who ascends to mountain tops, shall find
The loftiest peak most wrapt in clouds and snow ;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below."—*Byron*.

In 1880 our subject again appeared prominent before the public. This was at the Republican State Convention, which met at Staunton in 1880 to elect delegates to the National Convention.

General Wickham was elected permanent chairman. The seat of Captain Paul was contested by Dr. C. S. Mills. Captain Paul contended that he was elected in a regular and legal meeting, while Dr. Mills was elected in an irregular and illegal one. The committee on credentials recommended the seating of Dr. Mills, whereupon Captain Paul made a scathing speech before the convention, showing the illegal character of the meeting which elected Dr. Mills and vindicating his own right to a seat in the convention. The delegates at once decided by a vote to seat Captain Paul.

The bold daring, the fiery eloquence and the indomitable will manifested on this occasion won for him a host of friends.

When, in 1881, the colored leaders of the Republican party were invited to express their views as to the best policy for the Republican party to pursue in the State election, Captain Paul strenuously advocated a union with the newly risen Readjuster party.

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by him to the *Virginia Star*: " I think the very best policy for us to pursue

is to support the nominee of the Readjuster party when the ticket is made. The great and distinguished soldier and statesman, Gen. Wm. Mahone, the leader of the Readjuster party, speaks the sentiment of that party: 'A free suffrage for all men; a fair count; free education for all children; an impartial administration of the constitution and laws for all citizens, and the removal of sectional jealousies and race distinctions in all our politics.' There is no difference between the Readjusters and Republicans so far as equal rights before the law are concerned. If such great men as Conkling, Dawes, Hoar, Logan, Cameron, Garfield, Arthur, Gorham, and nearly all the great men of our party can afford to aid this party I cannot see why we little fellows down here who are suffering cannot do the same thing."

Owing to many differences of opinion as to the relation which the Republicans should sustain to the Readjusters, a conference of leading colored men was held in Richmond on the 27th of December, and decided to hold a State convention on the 14th of March, 1881.

That State convention of colored men met in the Academy of Music, in Petersburg, on the 14th of March, 1881.

The following resolution shows the spirit which actuated it:

"Resolved, That the Colored People of Virginia, in convention assembled in the city of Petersburg, regard the Readjuster party with favor, and confidently believe that their interests will be better secured and preserved by aiding that party in its efforts to achieve and permanently settle the antagonism of races which has unfortunately affected the prosperity of our State."

This convention thus unanimously decided to link the hand of fellowship with the more progressive and liberal-minded whites.

The Readjuster State Convention met in Richmond on June 2, 1881. The following were the leading planks in their platform:

I. We recognize our obligations to support the institutions for the deaf, dumb and blind, the lunatic asylum, and the public free schools.

II. We reassert our purpose to settle and adjust our State obligations on the basis of the "bill to re-establish public credit," known as the Riddleberger bill, passed by the last General Assembly and vetoed by the Governor.

III. The Readjusters hold the right to a free ballot, the right preservative of all rights, and that it should be maintained in every State of the Union.

IV. We believe the capitation-tax restriction upon the suffrage in Virginia to be in conflict with the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Captain Paul was one of the Colored members of this important convention. He first supported Captain John S. Wise, but afterward, with the other friends of Captain Wise, voted for Hon. W. E. Cameron.

The State Executive Committee appointed him a campaign orator. He was one of the few colored men favored with this distinction. Nor was the committee disappointed in the selection; for wherever he spoke, whether in Powhatan, King George, Richmond or other places, the people were instructed and strengthened in the Coalition cause.

Those three gentlemen, scholars and statesmen—Gov. W. E. Cameron, Attorney-General F. S. Blair, and Supt.-of-Public-Instruction R. R. Farr—were ably supported by the bold, vigorous and enthusiastic addresses of Captain Paul. He was also a member of the Republican State Central Committee. He was a member of that important committee from August, 1881, until April, 1884.

The Funder party nominated for Governor the brilliant John W. Daniel. The political campaign was one of the most exciting ever witnessed in Virginia. The election of November, 1881, resulted in a signal victory for the Readjuster party. The *Whig*, the leading Readjuster organ, placed the popular majority of Cameron at 11,304.

In the organization of the Legislature in December, the Readjusters boasted of twenty-three in the Senate and fifty-eight in

the House. That Legislature, true to its platform, adjusted the State debt according to the Riddleberger bill, by which the just and equitable debt of Virginia was declared to be twenty millions of dollars in round numbers. They abolished the whipping-post and nearly doubled the number of our free schools. They reduced taxation twenty per cent., and forbade the burdensome penalty against delinquent tax-payers. They appropriated, through the sagacity and ability of Hon. A. W. Harris, \$100,000 to found a college with an annuity of \$20,000 a year. This institution (the Collegiate Normal School, of Petersburg) is now the leading one sustained by the State for the education of Colored youth. Besides, they put Colored physicians in the lunatic asylums and Colored clerks in the State Governmental departments.

CHAPTER VI.

Paul's Prominence in the Campaign of 1882—The Readjuster Campaign of 1882—Its Candidates, Platform and Successes—The Educational System Under Funder and Readjuster Rule—The Forcible Speech of Capt. Paul in Tappahannock, Essex County, Va.—His Speeches in Northumberland, King William, King and Queen and other Places.

"All is the gift of Industry; whate'er
Exalts, embellishes and renders life
Delightful."

In the Congressional campaign of 1882 Captain Paul played a conspicuous part.

Virginia was to choose ten congressmen. The following was the Liberal Readjuster ticket of 1882 :

For Congressman for the State at large—Hon. John S. Wise.

First District—Hon. Robert M. Mayo.

Second District—Hon. Harry Libbey.

Third District—Hon. John Ambler Smith.

Fourth District—Hon. B. S. Hooper.

Fifth District—Hon. William E. Sims.

Sixth District—Hon. J. Henry Rives.

Seventh District—Hon. John Paul.

Eighth District—Hon. Richard R. Farr.

Ninth District—Hon. Henry Bowen.

The following was their comprehensive platform :

I. Free suffrage.

II. Free education.

III. Free speech, free religion and free politics.

IV. Our just debt with fair interest and reduced taxation.

V. Protection of our industries to develop our capacities and internal improvements.

VI. A solid Union with Federal fraternity the surest source and safeguard of the liberty and prosperity of the State and the people.

VII. Equal rights, equal privileges, equal duties and obligations, and an equal enforcement of constitutions and laws for all States and all citizens.

The campaign was signalized by intense earnestness on each side. The Funders exerted every nerve to regain their lost power, and the Readjusters, flushed with victory, were determined to gain more signal ones. The increase of schools for the children of the Commonwealth was one of the strongest arguments for the newly risen party. The following table shows the number of schools under each administration :

	FUNDER.	READJUSTER.
	1879.	1881.
Number of Schools, - - -	2,491	5,382
Graded, - - -	128	234
Pupils enrolled, - - -	108,074	239,046
Teachers, - - -	2,504	5,392
Colored Teachers, - - -	415	927
Colored Schools, - - -	675	1,443
Expenditures, - - -	\$570,389.15	\$1,100,238.96

Captain Paul made a vigorous canvass in behalf of the party. Wherever he addressed the people upon the living issues of the day he was received with much enthusiasm by both white and colored. His speeches, though not possessing the ease and grace of rhetorical finish, were characterized by unanswerable facts, forcible, practical logic, and bold energy.

His enviable position of messenger to the Governor enabled him to amass a wonderful amount of facts concerning the opposing forces.

The following extract, copied from the *Whig* of September 25, 1882, shows the character of Captain Paul as a campaign speaker :

TAPPAHANNOCK, ESSEX CO., Sept. 25, 1882.

"It having been announced that Capt. R. A. Paul, of Richmond city, would speak here to-day, a large audience of both races and of all parties met at the Courthouse. Capt. Paul was introduced by our county chairman, Harrison Southworth, and spoke about two hours.

" His speech was exceedingly effective, especially with those of his own color. He dealt with the issues of the campaign in a clear, logical, forcible and eloquent line of argument, to the complete satisfaction of the Readjusters, but the chagrin and discomfiture of the sore-headed Funders. He said the Funders had no platform; had deserted all their old leaders and abandoned every distinctive principle. He declared that they had surrendered their opposition to the removal of the capitation tax restriction upon the ballot, the repeal of the whipping-post law, and present no discussion, but make the campaign one of clap-trap talk and Jack-Cade bombast and misrepresentation. He said they are now marshaling their forces under the leadership of a pestilent and ambitious demagogue and deserter from our ranks, and they have but one cry in this campaign, and that is ' Negro Rule ' and ' Boss ' and ' Anything to beat Mahone.' He said that under Funder rule the Republicans of the State, and especially the Colored People, were deprived of nearly all their civil and political rights, and that nothing was done to advance the moral and intellectual status of the Colored People. He showed that under the leadership of Mahone we have had our school system fully restored; that we have secured \$400,000 for our general education, \$100,000 to build a colored Normal school; that the whipping-post has been abolished, taxes have been reduced, and that the capitation tax restriction to voting has been removed."

In Northumberland, Essex, King George, Richmond county, and other places the bold, vigorous speeches of our subject were received with bursts of enthusiastic applause. The results of the election of 1882 showed that Hon. John S. Wise was elected congressman at large by about 8,000 majority. John E. Massey was thus defeated. Hon. Rob't Mayo from First District, Hon. John Paul of the Seventh, Hon. B. Hooper of the Fourth, and John Bowen of the Ninth, were also elected. Hons. William Mahone and H. H. Riddleberger were the Readjuster senators from Virginia.

CHAPTER VII.

Paul and the Richmond School Board—The Notification of Mr. Garnett to Attorney-General Blair—The Appointment of the Board by the State Board of Education—The Declarations of Democratic Papers—The Decision of the Supreme Court—A Colored Citizens' Meeting on May 22, 1883—The Part Played by Captain Paul in the Election of Colored Principals and Teachers—His Resolution—The Board is Legislated Out.

“ Pluck bright honors from the pale-faced moon,
Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
Where fathom line could never touch the ground,
And drag up drowned honor by the locks.”

It was as a member of the Richmond School Board that Capt. R. A. Paul was brought even more prominently before the people of Virginia

A brief sketch of the history and workings of this board will prove interesting and instructive to the reader.

Sometime in January, 1883, Superintendent of Schools of the city, Mr. E. M. Garnett, notified Attorney-General Blair, who is a member of the State Board of Education, that from the books of the Richmond School Board he could not find that any of the trustees of the School Board had ever taken the oath of office. The State Board referred the matter to the Attorney-General for his opinion.

The Attorney-General declared that the oath of office was necessary for a school trustee, and that it should be recorded with the clerk of the School Board of counties, cities and towns, and that failure to take such an oath created a vacancy in the office of school trustee; that it authorized the town and city council to fill the vacancy within sixty days after the thirty days within which the law requires such trustees to take the oath of office, and that in the event the city council failed to fill such vacancy within sixty days, then the State Board of Education had the absolute power to make the appointment.

The State Board of Education, composed of Governor Cameron, Mr. R. R. Farr, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Attorney-General Blair, on the 17th of February, appointed the following school trustees for Richmond: John H. Childrey, Roland Hill, Jefferson Powers, John W. Fisher, Richard Forrester, V. A. Vavie, R. A. Paul, Henry Hudnall and J. V. Reddy. The selection of Mr. Richard Forrester and Captain R. A. Paul aroused the bitterest opposition on the part of the enemies of readjustment.

They strenuously argued that the city was disgraced by the presence of two colored men on its School Board. They vigorously claimed that white men alone should hold such a position; that the State Board of Education should be abhorred for this unpardonable sin. So embittered were some Bourbon sheets that they advised through their columns the resignation of the colored men. The *Richmond Dispatch* spoke as follows: "It might as well be understood first as last that the whites of Virginia do not intend to permit negroes to be trustees of white schools. This is a humiliation to which nobody has a right to expect the superior race to submit."

It also contained the following: "Think on these things, ye white school trustees. Ponder the situation in which you find yourselves. If the negroes won't resign, you can resign."

An article in the *Whig* of May 26, 1883, thus ridiculed the statement of the *Dispatch*: "O, what cunning Funder music for the unwary! Just you white men step down and out and let our City Council put seven of the old trustees back. Any seven of our old fellows won't mind sitting with the two 'niggers' who remain. Let the *Dispatch* continue to play its dulcet and winning music, 'List to the Mocking Bird,' or change to the plaintive strains:

"Should auld acquaintance be forgot?
Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon,
How can ye bloom sae fresh and fair?
Ye little birds, how can ye sing
While we poor Funders are so full of care?"

But so great were the opposition, anger and uncompromising spirit of the *Dispatch* that the New York *World*, on June 12, contained some severe criticism upon it.

Said the *World*: "This talk about 'humiliation' and the 'superior race' is in exceedingly bad taste. The Constitution of the United States has made negroes citizens in the fullest sense of the word. They may fall short of the whites mentally and morally, but when they manifest the capacity to lift themselves upon a plane of equality with the rest of mankind, they should be encouraged. We respect Governor Cameron for the step he has taken. It is time for this war against 'niggers' to stop."

While the war of words among the newspapers was progressing, the new board made a demand on the old for the office, papers and records of the schools of Richmond.

Mr. J. H. Peay, secretary of the board, refused to deliver them up, and claimed he did so under instructions from the old board.

The Board of Education instructed the Attorney-General to take all necessary steps to test the respective rights of the two boards before the Supreme Court of Appeals. This he did by a petition for a *mandamus* by the new board against the old.

The case was ably argued on both sides for two days. Judge Richardson delivered the unanimous decision of the court, sustaining the opinion of the Attorney-General and the action of the State Board.

Captain Paul was destined to play an important part in the coming revolution of the schools. The Colored People eagerly looked to him to labor and plan for the placing of all the colored schools into the hands of competent colored teachers. The Colored People for several years prior to the existence of the new school board had earnestly requested the appointment of colored teachers for colored schools.

On the 22d of May, 1883, a general meeting of the colored citizens was held in the First African church. It was the unanimous sentiment of the meeting that colored teachers should be

employed to teach colored schools. The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved 1. That we congratulate the friends of progress upon the educational status of our Commonwealth.

Resolved 2. That while we would not presume to dictate as to the management of the Richmond public schools, we respectfully petition the Richmond School Board, as an act of justice to ourselves and as an advantage to our children, that they appoint colored principals and teachers to all our colored schools.

The election of principals and teachers for the schools occurred on the fourth Thursday in June. It was mainly due to the energy and influence of Captain Paul that three teachers were promoted to the position of principals, and thirty-four new teachers were selected to fill schools previously filled by white teachers. While there was a unanimous desire on the part of the board to appoint colored teachers, with regard to principals there was a difference of opinion. At the election of principals and teachers four members out of nine were opposed to colored principals. Had not the bold and gallant Paul uncompromisingly contended for colored principals, it would have been impossible to choose them. The three young men who accidentally gained these lofty positions owe to Captain R. A. Paul a life-long gratitude.

The thirty-four newly-elected teachers, too, owed their positions in a large degree to his indomitable will, energy and judgment. As trustee of the Richmond schools he gained the favor and friendship of old and young. He ably and wisely represented the wishes of the colored citizens, and his judicious action won their applause.

As trustee, he was deeply interested in the educational advancement of his people. Realizing that fully 1,014 colored children were unprovided for in school accommodations, he exerted his utmost influence that such accommodations might be obtained. He offered to the board the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the present school facilities for colored children are entirely inadequate for the accommodation of those applying for admission, since there are 1,014 scholars unprovided for,

Resolved, That the council of the city of Richmond be and are hereby requested to erect a school building in said city west of Adams street, to be used exclusively for the education of colored children; the said building to be sufficiently large to admit of twelve schools being taught therein.

When the school is erected it will be a lasting monument to his worth and character.

The Legislature of December, 1883, declared vacant the School Boards of the State. On last April, 1884, Captain Paul and his fellow-members were forced by the inevitable to relinquish their positions. On the fourth Thursday in June, 1884, the Democratic School Board of Richmond deposed the three colored principals and reinstated the former white ones.

As trustee, he seemed to have obeyed the wise injunction of the illustrious Gœte :

“Haste not ! Let no thoughtless deed
Mark forever the spirit’s speed ;
Ponder well, and know the right—
Onward, then, with all thy might.
Haste not ! Years cannot atone
For one reckless action done !
Rest not ! Life is sweeping by,
Do and dare before you die,
Something mighty and sublime
Leave behind to conquer time ;
Glorious ’tis to live for aye
When these forms have passed away.”

He seemed to have pondered “well” and knew the “right.” In achieving acts of generosity for others, he has performed “something mighty and sublime” which will, indeed, “conquer time.”

CHAPTER VIII.

Paul's Part in the Campaign of 1883—The Campaign of 1883—The Democratic State Convention of July 25—The Part Played by Captain R. A. Paul—The Doings of the Democratic Legislature—The Chief Causes of the Defeat of the Readjuster Party—The Danville Massacre—The History of "Big Fourism."

"Adversity, sage, useful guest,
Severe instructor, but the best;
It is from thee alone we know
Justly to value things below."

The campaign of 1883 was one of the most remarkable in the history of the Commonwealth. Each party bent itself to the utmost to gain the victory. The Readjusters, crowned with the glory of success, were determined to maintain possession of the State government. The Funders, chagrined and maddened by successive defeats, exerted every nerve to conquer their wiley opponent Mahone.

Never before, perhaps, was the Democracy more united and better organized in every county, city, town and district.

The Democratic State Convention assembled in Lynchburg on the 25th of July, 1883, for the purpose of effecting a more thorough organization to overcome the successful Coalitionists. They, eager for State supremacy, adopted a platform differing but slightly from that of the Coalitionists.

The best and ablest orators of each party warmly argued the issues of the campaign before the people. Captain Paul canvassed the State in this exciting campaign. He delivered, too, several speeches in behalf of the Coalitionists at meetings held in the city of Richmond.

Whenever he addressed the people he spoke on the issues of the campaign in a clear and able manner. His speeches teemed with undeniable facts and figures.

Never before have I observed men of opposing parties so sanguine of success.

The Funders were heralding from the steepy heights of the Alleghanies to the low level of the sea that victory would assuredly be theirs. The Readjusters as confidently asserted that they would carry the State by a larger majority than ever.

The official returns after the election of the 6th of November demonstrated that the Funders had carried the State by almost 18,000 majority. When the Legislature convened in December it was found that in the Senate 23 were Funders and 17 Readjusters; in the House 63 were Funders and 37 Readjusters. In a short time, however, a sufficient number of Readjusters was unseated to give the Funders about two-thirds in each branch. Thus the Democracy, in its representatives, was enabled to override the veto of the Readjuster Governor Cameron.

This Legislature eagerly and earnestly desired to undo the work of the Readjusters and assume control of the State. And very successful, too, they were in accomplishing this.

The various boards of the institutions for the deaf, dumb and blind were changed. Prominent and worthy Readjusters who occupied positions on school boards for cities and boards for higher institutions of learning were forced to give way to men of Democratic persuasion. The newly-risen party, which since 1879 had met with a series of brilliant victories, was suddenly overthrown in November, 1883.

It may prove interesting as well as instructive to investigate some of the causes which led to the disastrous defeat of the Readjuster party. The balance of probabilities was certainly in favor of the Coalitionists. The eagle of victory had perched upon their banner in the exciting struggles of '79, '81, and '82. The bright star of hope had shone clearly before them. The balance of State as well as Federal power was theirs. He who occupied the highest position in the gift of the State was a pillar of the new movement. The Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General, the larger number of the House and Senate, the Judiciary Departments were linked with the fortunes of the Coalitionists. The Department of Education, with its scores of super-

intendents, its retinue of principals, teachers, school boards and janitors, was under the supervision and direction of Readjustment. The eleemosynary institutions for the deaf, dumb and blind were controlled by those of Coalition persuasion.

The vast power of the Federal patronage, its custom-houses, its post-offices and mail-services, with numbers of officials, was wielded by the new party.

With strength great, a record almost unimpeachable, and principles lasting, its success appeared certain and secure. But in spite of its prestige and power, its glowing record and desirable principles, it was disastrously beaten—sadly defeated.

The causes which induced its defeat must have been of no insignificant character. The defeated Democracy, routed in three successive campaigns, opposed by State and Federal power, won the State by about 18,000 majority. Let us see the reason why.

Firstly. The thorough and systematic organization of the Democracy aided greatly in their success. The State Committee, with Hon. John S. Barbour, chairman, adopted the most practical plans for reaching the people of the State.

The county, district, town and ward committees paid domiciliary visitation for the purpose of winning votes in opposition to Mahone. Thus political fireside conversations were common, and hundreds of solid votes won.

What monetary influences may have aided and strengthened the compact organization, it is impossible to conjecture. Supporting the skillfully conceived organization were invincible energy and determination.

Those men were more than desperately in earnest. Nor did their opponents least suspect the extremes to which they would resort to defeat Mahoneism. The depth and seriousness of their antagonism to the Coalitionists began to appear in their drawing the "Color Line."

Secondly. The raising the color question aided much in their success.

The appointment of colored trustees may have been the occasion, but it was certainly not the cause of their drawing it. They

howled with more than ungovernable fury over the appointment of the two intelligent and respectable colored gentlemen—Messrs. Forrester and Paul.

They vociferously clamored that the white people of the State would not permit it; that it was a shame that colored men should be over white schools, and that it was a disgrace that white ladies should be forced to request colored men to appoint them. Listen to the ravings of the leading Democratic organ, the *Richmond Dispatch*, of May 23, 1883:

“It cannot be tolerated for one moment, the thought that negro trustees shall be seen sitting in the theatre next month surrounded by lovely young white girls. The negroes or the white children—one or the other—will be absent.”

Again, in the *Dispatch* of June 5, 1883: “Are you willing that as in the city of Richmond negro trustees shall be appointed to oversee in common with white trustees the white schools of Virginia, and trust to the self-denial of the negroes to keep them out of the white schools?”

By this species of fallacious declamation did the *Dispatch* and other organs arouse the worst feelings of the whites against the colored. Through their false and illogical reasoning that this is a white man’s government, they bitterly incensed the friendly disposed whites against the respectable colored people of the State. And this, too, though the Democracy itself had appointed colored trustees over white and colored schools. During the administration of Governor Kemper, which began in 1873 and ended in 1877, a number of colored citizens were made school trustees. The following statement is copied from the *Whig* of October 4, 1883:

“According to a certified statement from the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction during Kemper’s administration, the State Board, of which Kemper was president, appointed the following colored school trustees: John Cox, trustee for Midlothian district, Chesterfield county; Lafayette Johnson, trustee for Clover Hill district, King and Queen county; Beverley

Sparks, trustee for Stevensville district, King and Queen county; Henry Robinson, trustee for Pine Tree district, Middlesex county; P. G. Morgan, George Washington, and J. H. Hill, for the city of Petersburg."

But utterly ignoring the fact of the appointment of colored men by the Kemper School Board, they vigorously and persistently called upon the white men of the State to forget not the heinous crime of placing colored men as trustees over white and colored schools. "O! consistency thou art a jewel!" By the most inflammatory newspaper articles and public speeches a veritable war of races was begun. Whites began to range themselves in Macedonian-like phalanxes against colored. The ringing shibboleth of the frightened Democracy was, "Whites must support whites!" The great issues of the campaign were forgotten; passion supplanted reason, prejudice conquered judgment, and men's minds were ready for anything. While the public mind was thus unduly excited; while the unholy war of races was progressing occurred the lamentable Danville massacre, which we mention as the THIRD CAUSE of the defeat of the Coalitionists. The immediate occasion of this disgraceful massacre was as follows:

A colored man, while walking down a popular street, politely attempted to move on one side to make room for several white ladies. In so doing he accidentally stepped on the foot of a white man, who at once struck him a severe blow. In the first fight which ensued the white man was worsted. Shortly after the contest this white man, in company with another, met the colored man on the street. The colored man was immediately attacked, when several colored men came to the scene of disturbance. One of the white men, with drawn pistol, forbade them to interfere. A number of whites, too, were soon upon the scene. As a colored man attempted to rescue the beaten one, he was fired upon and fell dead. In the subsequent disturbance the whites fired upon the fleeing crowd of colored people and killed two more, but wounded several. The effect was electrical. The whole city was thrown in an uproar of excitement. The whites

flocked the streets armed, while the colored remained secreted at home.

The news rushed rapidly to various portions of the State. By Monday night thousands of white and colored people had learned the terrible tragedy. Grim fear seized numbers and held them from the polls on Tuesday. In the city made sad by gloomy death and painful wounds hardly any colored dared to exercise the right of ballot. In many counties, as well as some cities, long-fingered death seemed to stare the colored voters in the face. When the lightning-winged telegraph announced the result of the exciting contest it was discovered that hundreds and thousands of colored citizens had refused to vote.

The Readjusters boldly proclaimed that the Funders had concocted this massacre to defeat them. The Funders as boldly claimed that the Hon. W. E. Sims stirred the passions of the people on the previous night by an incendiary speech; that this riotous speech caused the disturbance on Saturday, and that the Democracy was irresponsible for the bloody deed.

It must not be supposed that the large majority of the Democratic voters are responsible for the barbarous act planned by some of its leaders and executed by the tools of those leaders. Thousands who yearly vote with the time-honored Democracy possess too much ennobling manhood and Christian integrity to condescend to bloodshed and murder to win a political contest. Every lover of Virginia soil must deeply regret that the pen of the future impartial historian will place her—the mother of States and the mother of presidents—in the catalogue of States made famous by “Ku Kluxism, White lineism and Shot-gun Policy.”

Over and above the Copiah murder, the Yazoo tragedy and the Hamburg bloodshed will be painted the Danville massacre, a blot upon the face of Christian civilization and a stain upon the fair name of Virginia.

The severe and constant opposition of the Straightouts may be mentioned as the FOURTH CAUSE of the unsuspected defeat of the Coalitionists. The Straightouts professed to be pure Republi-

cans. They refused to link the hand of friendship with the Mahone party. Indeed, in the opposition to the Coalitionists they were as severe and uncompromising as the Democrats themselves. In the hotly contested campaign of 1882 they polled 5,000 votes for their candidate for congressman at large, Hon. John Dawson. In the bitter struggle of 1883 some of their leaders joined hands with the Democracy itself to crush the Mahoneites. General Wickham, one of the oldest and greatest leaders of the Republican party, was nominated by the Funders of Hanover and Caroline counties, and elected to the Virginia Senate.

Mr. Dezendorf, another of the veteran leaders, headed the Bourbon ticket of Norfolk county. Listen to the voice of the *Whig* of May 23, 1883:

"But Mr. Dezendorf, claiming to be a Republican, heads the Bourbon-Funder ticket in Norfolk county, he being the only Republican upon it, as we learn. This Bourbon-Funder ticket the Bourbon-Funders and Mr. Dezendorf represent as the Straightout Republican ticket."

Aside from these, the FIFTH CAUSE may be found in the desertion of the party by some of its former leaders and followers. Abraham Fulkerson, one of the founders of readjustment, exerted his utmost endeavors to crush it. Aside from the antagonizing influence of Beckley, Woltz and others might be mentioned the severe and unrelenting hostility of Hon. John E. Massey and the famous "Big Four." The Big Four, so named from the powerful influence exerted by them in the Senate in opposition to the Coalitionists, was composed of Senators Williams, Hale, Newberry and Lybrock.

The cause of the antagonism of Hon. John E. Massey and the rise of the "Big Four" will be briefly presented. The question of the appointment of clerks for the office of the First Auditor was discussed in the Readjuster caucus. Hon. John E. Massey strongly claimed the right of appointing his own clerks, while the majority of the caucus, led by Senator H. H. Riddleberger, demanded that the desired clerks should be appointed by the caucus.

The aforementioned "Big Four" sided with Mr. Massey. The legislation of the State was stopped for thirty days. This occurred from the fact that a deadlock was formed in the Senate by the "Big Four" operating with the Funders. The ringing voices of the Readjuster leaders, the leading editors of Coalition organs, and the greater majority of Readjuster voters, united in severely denouncing Massey and the "Big Four" as traitors to their pledges and to the people. The defeat of Massey was the occasion of his fleeing to the outstretched arms of the Democracy. This also, united with personal abuse, was the occasion of a bitter and protracted struggle on the part of the "Big Four" against the Mahoneites. Everywhere in the State, from the commencement of "Big Fourism" and Masseyism to the present time, Mr. Massey and the "Big Four"—Messrs. Hale, Williams, Newberry, and Lybrock—have exerted their utmost influence to defeat Readjustment. Hon. John E. Massey was nominated by the Democratic party for congressman-at-large in 1882. Though beaten in the exciting contest by John S. Wise, he persistently contested his seat in the House of Representatives of the United States.

Though foiled in this undertaking, he remains now the uncompromising enemy of the party which he once honored.

Aside from these five main causes may also be mentioned the too severe strictness on the part of some of the leaders of Readjustment. All men will not submit to uncompromising dictation.

The placing of men in positions of remuneration whose record showed no work achieved for the party, and the overlooking of men who had struggled for the party from its beginning, denergized some of its faithful workers and caused desertion on the part of others.

But of all the varying causes which might be mentioned as the reasons of the disastrous and unexpected defeat of the Coalitionists, the Danville massacre was undoubtedly the chief. The color-line, good organization, dissatisfied elements, antagonism of Straight-outs, dictation as to men and measures, and unfair

nepotism had been employed before. All these were insufficient to give the decaying Democracy a majority of nearly 18,000. For these identical agencies, prior to 1883, had been too weak to prevent the Readjusters from obtaining 12,000 and 8,000 majority.

It might be well to state, also, that in many places the before-victorious Coalitionists displayed little activity and energy. Confident of success, they deemed it unnecessary to labor with much diligence and watchfulness to again carry the election. But the vanity and self-conceit of these were hurled to the winds and severely rebuked at the annunciation of their unexpected defeat.

CHAPTER IX.

Paul a Delegate to the State Convention—The Readjuster Convention of April 24, 1884—The Readjusters Become Republicans—The Platform of Principles—The Speech of Captain Paul in the Convention.

"Storms may howl around thee,
Foes may hunt and hound thee;
Shall they overpower thee?
Never, never, never."

The tireless Mahone, though defeated in the campaign of 1883, was by no means discouraged. With renewed energy, the sturdy sons of Readjustment actively co-operated with him in making a call for a State Convention.

That convention assembled in the Richmond Theatre on the 24th of April, 1884. Never, perhaps, has a political convention assembled in the State which could show a superiority in the character and ability of its leaders.

There were the eloquent A. A. Dodson, and the able W. H. Pleasants; the scholarly R. C. Mitchell, and the learned A. W. Harris. Here too sat energetic Paul, sensible Josiah Crump, fearless Anderson Taylor, and others whose names I cannot now recall.

Among the white leaders of Readjustment were skillful Van Auken, learned Frank Blair, and bold R. Walker; plucky Brown Allen, organizing Brady, thoughtful S. Yost and energetic R. Hubard were there. H. W. Holdway, F. R. Brown, Bailey Brown, John S. Wise, Joseph Gregory, A. O. Long, Dr. G. R. Gray, W. E. Craig, L. E. Savage and a host of others adorned that memorable convention.

The object of the convention was to elect delegates to the National convention, which met on the third of June at Chicago. Between 900 and 1,000 delegates were present. General Mahone, chairman of the State Committee, briefly addressed the convention, after which he introduced Mayor Lamb, of Norfolk, as the temporary chairman.

In the permanent organization, Hon. Wm. Lamb was appointed chairman, C. C. Clarke, secretary, and George F. Bragg assistant secretary.

The following delegates to the Chicago convention, elected by the Congressional District Convention, were reported by the respective chairmen:

First District—Hon. Duff Green, Stafford county; Hon. L. R. Stewart, Richmond.

Second District—Harry Libbey, Elizabeth City; Jordan Thompson, Nansemond.

Third District—Hon. W. C. Elam, Louisa; J. Anderson Taylor, Richmond.

Fourth District—Hon. W. E. Gaines, Nottoway; Hon. A. W. Harris, Dinwiddie.

Fifth District—W. E. Sims, Pittsylvania; Winfield Scott, Floyd.

Sixth District—James A. Frayser, Rockingham; James M. McLaughlin, Lynchburg.

Seventh District—L. S. Walker, Shenandoah; J. L. Dunn, Green.

Eighth District—R. L. Mitchell, Alexandria city; Thomas G. Popham, Rappahannock.

Ninth District—Hon. C. C. Wood, Scott; D. F. Houston, Roanoke.

Delegates at Large—Gen. Wm. Mahone, Col. J. D. Brady, Hon. F. S. Blair, S. M. Yost, W. H. Pleasants, A. A. Dodson.

Electors—Hon. Lewis E. Harvie, Hon. W. H. Turner, Hon. S. Brown Allen, Bailey Brown, C. H. Causey, R. T. Hubbard, J. H. VanAuken, F. R. Brown, E. W. Hubbard, Rob't J. Walker, Carter M. Louthan, and W. Holdway.

The platform of the convention was pre-eminently characterized by a deep insight into the nature and object of government and a declaration of liberal and universal principles.

The Coalitionists in this convention declared that henceforth they were Republicans; that they earnestly invited the co-opera-

tion of all opposed to Bourbonism, and they pledged themselves to secure to all free suffrage, an honest ballot and a fair count.

They were in favor of free education, liberal appropriations of the Government for educational purposes, protective tariff, and the development of the industries of the State.

They declared: "We arraign and denounce Bourbonism for its hostility to the most sacred rights and dearest interest of the people—a hostility which it has demonstrated by recklessly tramping under foot the Constitution and laws of the State; by denying to the people the right of representation in the Legislature through the men of their own choice; by divesting the Executive Department of the Government of many of its constitutional and statutory powers; by depleting the State treasury; by its injudicious interference with the free school system; by lessening the taxes of those who live by trade and speculation while the farming, mechanical and laboring classes are unrelieved of their heavy burthen."

The first plank in the platform of this noted convention declared the Coalitionists to be henceforth Republicans.

The desirable declaration electrified the hearts of all present, and healed many wounds in the ranks of the Straightout Republicans of the State.

Captain R. A. Paul was a delegate to this convention. He made a forcible and enthusiastic speech advocating Hon. John F. Lewis as a delegate to Chicago.

But the eloquence of Paul was not destined to achieve a victory, for Hon. John F. Lewis positively refused to be a delegate.

This convention was strongly characterized by a bursting enthusiasm. The appearance of the magnetic Mahone, the speaking of Blair, Pleasants, Wise, Harris, Paul and others were the occasions of prolonged and rapturous applause.

CHAPTER X.

Captain R. A. Paul a Self-Made Man—The Spirit of Self-Help the True One—The Sayings of Scott, Gibbon and Dr. Arnold—Men of Eminence Owe Their Greatness to This—It is Achieved by Diligence and Application—This Spirit of Self-Help in Captain Paul Manifested by His Practical Education—His Military Record—His Political Influence and Position—His Public Character.

"This above all, To thine own self be true ;
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."—*Shakespeare.*

A famous general once said, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." This is but another form of the great principle embodied in the trite maxim, "Heaven helps those who help themselves."

The spirit of self-help energizes and invigorates; Cæsarism tends to dwarf and weaken.

Even the very best institutions only assist men; they do not and cannot make them either great or good. In one sense, every man is self-made. It is by his individual energy, pluck and perseverance that he rises in the estimation of mankind. But for years mankind has generally understood by the term "self made man" a person whose educational training was left to his own guidance or who enjoyed but a meagre training from the hands of others.

Men of this character are forced to toil much harder for acquisitions.

Gibbon once said: "Every person has two educations—one which he receives from others, and one, more important, which he gives himself."

Sir Walter Scott declared: "The best part of every man's education is that which he gives himself."

The distinguished Dr. Arnold once said: "I would rather send a boy to Van Dieman's Land, where he would have to

work for his bread, than to send him to Oxford to live in luxury without any desire in his own mind to avail himself of his advantages."

Self-help accounts for the pleasing and instructive fact that great men belong to no exclusive rank in life. This is the grand secret why men born in small towns and villages have become rulers of great cities and kingdoms; why men, obscure in their early life, have become so prominent in manhood. Jeremy Taylor, the most poetic of preachers, came from the barber shop. Shakspeare was the son of a butcher, and was only himself a wool-comber.

The great Ben Johnson was a common bricklayer, and Hugh Miller, the geologist, was a common day laborer.

Prof. Lee, the Orientalist, and John Gibson, the sculptor, were carpenters.

President Andrew Johnson was a tailor and Garfield a canal boy.

Oliver Cromwell was the son of a London brewer, and Columbus was a weaver.

Demosthenese, the world's greatest orator, was the son of a cutler, and Terence, the Roman writer, was a slave.

John Jacob Astor once sold apples on the streets of New York; Daniel Webster was once a farm boy, and Mohammed was the driver of asses

The eminent Frederick Douglass, now orator, author, recorder of deeds, was a slave; Benjamin Banneker, the colored philosopher and astronomer, had the meagerest training, and yet won the approbation of Thomas Jefferson and the Academy of Science of Paris; Dr. James Derham, the colored physician, was born a slave in Philadelphia in 1762, and rose to distinction in his profession.

This invigorating spirit of self-help must be acquired by constant labor and assiduity.

Idleness rusts the soul as mill-dew rusts iron. Jeremy Taylor once said: "Avoid idleness, and fill up all the space of thy time

with severe and useful employment, for lust easily creeps in at those emptinesses where the soul is unemployed and the body is at ease."

Sir Joshua Regnolds held that "all men might achieve excellence if they would but exercise the power of assiduous and patient working."

One must be diligent in self-discipline and self-control. These must be grounded in self-respect. Hope, the companion of power and the mother of success, springs from it. Pythagoras, the Grecian philosopher, taught his pupils to reverence themselves.

"The pious and just honoring of ourselves," said Milton, "may be thought the radical moisture, the fountain head from whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth."

This spirit of self-help must be obtained, too, by untiring perseverance and application. Without these little is accomplished.

Newton, when asked by what means he had worked out his extraordinary discoveries, said, "By always thinking on them." De Maistre says, "To know how to wait is the great secret of success."

Captain R. A. Paul is a self-made man in the truest sense of the word. He never spent a day in an institution of learning. All he knows he gained by dint of unremitting toil and invincible energy. Night after night, by the dim flickering of a candle, has he labored to master arithmetic, history, grammar, geography. In his manhood days he applied himself with unremitting zeal to the study of law and public life.

This is his record, and this is sufficient. No higher eulogium can be pronounced upon him than that what Longfellow says of the diligent Village Blacksmith :

"Something attempted, something done,
Has earned a night's repose."

His military spirit, too, abundantly attest his active spirit of self-help. He is captain of a military company known as the State Guard. This company, with its gallant captain, is well known throughout the State. He faithfully studies to make him-

self acquainted with every detail of military life, and ranks as a captain of fine ability. He is much beloved by the members of his company. In this particular he resembles the immortal John Logan and Robert E. Lee. On more than one occasion has his company been recognized as one of the best in the State of Virginia.

A colored military contest occurred at the State Fair on the 31st of October, 1879. The contestants were :

Attucks Guard, Captain J. Crump.

State Guard, Captain R. A. Paul.

Virginia Grays, Captain Ben. Scott.

Carney Guard, Captain Booker.

Manchester Union Guard, Captain Cunningham.

Langston Guard, of Norfolk, Captain W. H. Palmer.

Colonel L. J. Beall, Colonel L. L. Bass and Captain Charles F. Taylor were selected to decide the merits of the contest.

All the companies acquitted themselves with marked ability ; but when the State Guard had completed their drill the loud and continuous applause plainly showed that the judgment of the spectators was in their favor.

The State Guard were declared the successful competitors for the first prize, and the Attucks Guard for the second.

At Petersburg, too, on July 5, 1880, his company received the second prize in a drilling contest.

On Monday, September 8, 1884, a military drill contest occurred at the Fair Grounds between the State Guard and the Virginia Grays.

The State Guard, under Captain Paul, received the prize of \$25.

Only the indomitable energy and will of Paul enabled his company to achieve these victories.

That he is a self-made man is perfectly evident from his success as a politician. From the time of his entrance into the political arena to the present time he has played an important part in the politics of the State. Especially since 1874 has he met with that species of political success which attaches to the holding a permanent political position.

In 1877 he was appointed bailiff, and in 1880 he was commissioned U. S. Deputy Marshal by Hon. C. P. Ramsdell. He performed the duties of these positions with fidelity and ability. In May, 1881, he resigned this position and entered upon the duties of mailing clerk in the Richmond post-office.

The onerous responsibilities of this office, too, he filled to the entire satisfaction of his superiors. On the 16th of January, 1882, he resigned this place for the one which he now fills.

Governor W. E. Cameron, recognizing the valuable services of Capt. R. A. Paul, appointed him "Doorkeeper to the Executive or Messenger to the Governor and Secretary of the Commonwealth." This position is a salaried one, provided by law. In the Code of 1873, chapter 20, page 221, section 15, the provisions for this office are as follows: "There shall be a doorkeeper to the executive chamber and of the general library room, who shall be the messenger of the Governor and Secretary of the Commonwealth, and obey their orders. He shall be appointed by the Governor and removed at his pleasure. He shall keep the keys of the executive chamber, of the general library-room, and of the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth; keep these rooms and furniture thereof in proper order, have the fires therein diligently tended and carefully extinguished, and the rooms supplied with water. He shall be allowed a compensation fixed by the Governor and paid quarterly out of the civil contingent fund."

Before the inauguration into office of Governor W. E. Cameron, this important office of the executive had been filled by white men of standing and character.

Mr. Thomas Botts, of Richmond, a gentleman of some reputation, was appointed to the position by Governor Kemper in 1874. He was reappointed by Governor Holliday in 1878, and was superseded by Capt. R. A. Paul.

That sterling integrity and tireless energy exhibited in other positions have enabled him to perform, with entire satisfaction, the duties of this one. In this prominent governmental post he reflects much credit upon himself and honor upon the Colored People of America.

The colored citizens of this great nation felt that they had advanced another step further when President Hayes magnanimously appointed Hon. Fred. Douglass to the enviable position of United States Deputy Marshal of the District of Columbia. So, also, the colored citizens of this great Commonwealth realized that they had made a step in governmental equality when Capt. R. A. Paul was appointed to this honored post by Governor W. E. Cameron.

Governor Cameron is a gentleman, scholar and statesman of broad liberal opinion. More than once has he abundantly shown his good will and unprejudiced spirit towards the Colored People. From a recognition of the equality of all before the law and the constitution, he has endeared himself to the Colored People of the Old Dominion. Hon. R. R. Farr, Superintendent of Public Instruction, in the educational department of the State, has manifested a like liberal appreciation for the interests and rights of colored citizens. It has been his invariable policy to place competent colored teachers in colored schools when practicable. Such illustrious heroes as these, our mothers will honor, our wives respect, and our little children praise.

Throughout the entire public career of Captain R. A. Paul, so far as I am able to ascertain, he has been recognized as a man of character. It is this which dignifies every station and exalts every position in life. Its influence is greater than that which comes from wealth, or position, or fame.

Napoleon once said that even in war the moral is to the physical ten to one.

Men may possess little intellectual calibre and less money, but if they are enriched with a sterling character they will always possess influence. Captain Paul seems to have pursued the course marked out by Canning, who wisely wrote in 1801: "My road must be through character to power; I will try no other course; and I am sanguine enough to believe that this course, though not perhaps the quickest, is the surest."

Truthfulness and integrity seemed to have marked his political

career. When he promised assistance to one candidate no amount of money nor any position could induce him to desert for another. He faithfully labored to promote the interests of his candidate, and maintained an unspotted political record before the people.

"The youth," says Mr. Disraeli, "who does not look up will look down, and the spirit that does not soar is destined, perhaps, to grovel."

Captain R. A. Paul has always "looked up" to something higher and better. He has carried into active life the principle embodied in the following words of George Herbert :

"Pitch thy behavior low ; thy projects high ;
So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be.
Sink not in spirit ; who aimeth at the sky
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree."

I have often noticed his genial politeness to passers by. This, too, is one of the secrets of his success thus far. "Civility," said Lady Montague, "costs nothing and buys everything."

None are too poor in purse or dress as not to be the recipients of his affability. Withal he appears to be a man of broad, liberal opinions and great sensibility. His feelings are susceptible of the slightest injury or insult, but he is not the man to resent them. He knows how to differ from men without abusing them. Opinionativeness and arrogance are far from him. His intimate association with men of eminence and worth has taught him to consider with impartiality the views of opponents.

He seldom speaks disparagingly of any man's worth or ability. In all my intercourse with him I have heard him speak less derogatory words concerning men than any of my acquaintances. In him there is a beautiful mingling of courage and gentleness.

It was said of Sir John Franklin that "he was a man who never turned his back upon any danger, yet of that tenderness that he would not brush away a mosquito."

None who knows the subject of our sketch doubt his courage. He knows how to say "No" and how to stand to it. In all his

political contests he has never been known to play the part of a coward, but on more than one occasion he has displayed moral courage of the highest order. His high positions of honor and trust in several societies, associations and the church clearly show in what high estimation he is held by the community. He is a member in good standing of the Richmond Chapter of Masons and of Mt. Olivet Commandery of Knights of Templars. He is Junior Warden in Charity Lodge, No. 25, of the F. and A. Masons, and is the Supreme Representative of Virginia of the Knights of Pythias. As a man of religious faith, he is a prominent member of the Third-Street A. M. E. Church, and one of the Board of Stewards.

In the popular sense of the term, Capt. R. A. Paul is certainly a gentleman. The immortal words of the immortal Tennyson are thus far appropriate to him :

“ For who can always act? but he
 To whom a thousand memories call,
 Not being less, but more than all
 The gentleman he seemed to be.
 But seemed the thing he was and joined
 Each office of the social hour
 To noble manners, as the flower
 And native growth of noble mind,
 And thus he bore without abuse
 The grand old name of Gentleman.”

CHAPTER XI.

Paul's Intellectual Ability—Intellect the Glory of Man—Analysis of the Human Mind—The True Meaning of Education—Intellectual Ability can be Acquired by Diligent Study and Observation—Washington, Wilson, Douglass—The Strength of the Mind of Capt. Paul—His Perception, Memory, Reason—His Record should Stimulate Young Men.

“ We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths ;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial ;
We should count time by heart-throbs—he most lives
Who thinks most—feels the noblest acts the best.”

The crowning glory of man is his intellectual capacity. His power of thinking, reflecting, devising, and scheming constitute the image of God in which he was created. Remove the intellectual nature of a man, and he is reduced to the level of a brute. With it, however, he lays the foundations of great cities and magnificent empires ; he builds huge pyramids, crosses the wide seas, and tunnels the mammoth mountains ; he enacts beneficent laws, provides his many wants, and worships his Creator. The only form of existence which we are capable of knowing are mind and matter. The human mind becomes cognizant of the external world through the perceptive faculties—the senses of seeing, smelling, tasting, feeling and hearing.

When we reason, think or remember, we know that we are reasoning, thinking and remembering. The power by which we become cognizant of these mental states is called consciousness. When we behold a runaway horse, we think of what caused him to run away and what he will do. This power of the mind is called original suggestion. The wise and beneficent Creator determined that the human mind should possess the power of grouping thoughts and ideas together. This complex power is termed abstraction.

The various ideas and divers knowledge acquired may be frequently recalled. This grand power of the mind is denominated memory.

But the Divine Being, who formed and fashioned man intended that from knowledge gained we should be enabled to acquire truth before unknown. The faculty which bestows this power is reason.

But man is enabled to form from material existing in the mind pictures of things which never existed. The pleasing faculty by which this is done is called imagination. The complex human mind obtains pleasure from beauty, and pain from deformity. The power by which this is achieved is termed taste.

The intellectual ability of men depends largely upon the strength and development of these respective faculties.

It is the proper sphere of education to shape and mould them.

By the term education must not be understood merely the training of these intellectual faculties. Education should do this, but it should do more beside. The feelings must be disciplined, the passions restrained, true and worthy motives inspired, religious feelings instilled, and pure morality inculcated. All these are comprised in education. Swedenborg well says: "It is of no advantage to man to know much, unless he lives according to what he knows, for knowledge has no other end than goodness; and he who is made good is in possession of a far richer treasure than he whose knowledge is the most extensive and yet is destitute of goodness; for what the latter is seeking by his great acquirements, the former already possesses." Too many have imbibed the erroneous idea that to acquire good intellectual ability a man must spend his boyhood and youth within the walls of some classical seminary or college.

I readily admit that classical culture is desirable. Practical life, however, demonstrates that many men who have been incarcerated within the limited circumference of schools and colleges lack that kind of intellectual ability which insures success. An intimate acquaintance with the siege of Troy, the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, or a knowledge of Latin and Greek, are quite distinct from that fund of practical intelligence fitted for every-day life.

By a proper improvement of time, the day-laborer and the mechanic, the clerk and the business-man, may so develop the several faculties as to stand by the side of those who have grown up in the full blaze of a collegiate education. The story of George Washington is simple and instructive. He had only the most meagre advantage of instruction in the common school branches. He added to this a knowledge of plane surveying. This trained him in mathematics, in the geography of his own country, in observation, in judgment, and correct writing. His intellectual faculties became deep, solid, strong, and accurate.

Look at Henry Wilson, who was born at Framingham, N. H., February 16, 1812. He went to school about twelve months. At twenty-one, with all his possessions packed on his back, he went to Natick, Mass., and engaged in shoemaking. Afterward he studied a little at three different academies, but was forced back to the shoemaker's bench. He went into the whirl of political life, and arose to eminence as an American statesman. His intellectual ability was obtained more from his practical knowledge than from school.

Frederick Douglass was taught the art of reading by his mistress. By diligence and zeal he acquired much general information. He purchased while in slavery the "Columbian Orator," a famous school book of the time. He read with avidity the brilliant and profound speeches of Pitt, Burke and other eminent statesmen. Though he never attended any regular school he is recognized as a man of rare intellectual power. His late autobiography is a work of beauty, original thought and literary finish.

The mind of Captain Paul, like those of many eminent men, has acquired its strength by virtue of his diligence. His perceptive faculties are largely developed. The base of his forehead presents an unusual prominence which clearly indicates his power of observing events. His force of abstraction, classifying and generalizing is not to be despised.

In his public speeches he frequently joins fact to fact in a consecutive chain; classifies his knowledge and renders himself more

effective as a practical debater. His memorizing faculty has been greatly enlarged by the accumulation of the facts of history and experience. His memory serves him so well that he has frequently entertained and instructed large audiences for two and three hours.

Cato, deeply convinced of the power of reason displayed in Plato's immortality of the soul, exclaimed: "Plato, thou reasonest well."

All who have attentively listened to our subject speak can truthfully attest that he "reasons well." His reasoning powers, from constantly thinking of the results of political affairs, are remarkably vigorous and trustworthy. His is not like the sweet, persuasive reasoning of a Clay, or a Choate; but like the massive, convincing reasoning of a Calhoun, or a Webster. In his bold, vigorous speeches delivered in Tappahannock, King William, King and Queen and other places, the people asserted that he placed his opponents in a ridiculous position by the solidarity of of his reason. It is mainly due to his good sense and sound judgment, the result of this faculty, that he is so highly esteemed by such eminent men as Governor Cameron, Lieutenant-Governor John F. Lewis, Hon. John S. Wise and other prominent men. He is so strongly attached to the accumulation of facts that he has given his imagination but little opportunity to develop. That he is a man of good taste cannot be questioned. The neatness of his personal appearance, the richness of his parlor with its Brussels carpet, its cushioned chairs, its richly ornamented pictures and marble-slab stand sufficiently attest this.

These facts clearly prove that he is a man of good intellectual capability. This appears very striking when we remember that he never spent a day in a school-room, but gained all he knows from his own personal efforts, assisted, to a small degree, by his affectionate mother. Step by step, through the difficult fields of reading, writing, geography, history and some law, he has made his toilsome way. While others were carousing, he was diligently studying. Especially is his ability to be commended when

we remember that he has risen from the servility of a slave to the lofty position of "Doorkeeper to the Executive Chamber"; that he has with ability and success discussed the great political issues of the times and met the approbation of the great men and organs of the party, and that he is publicly known by both white and colored throughout the Old Dominion.

Surely he deserves from us the well-earned plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servant." This brilliant record should prove a stimulant to every ambitious youth of the country.

His is the account of a comparatively-speaking young man. He is now in his thirty-eighth year. If he has achieved so much without the advantages of culture, they should accomplish as much, if not more, with these advantages. If he, with the evil effects of slavery resting upon him, has managed by diligence and application to cast them from him and ascend so high the hill of life, they, freed from such blights, should climb still higher.

Then, young man, look up! Strive with perseverance, patience, soberness, and diligence, and a happy reward will be yours.

CHAPTER XII.

Specimens of Paul's Writing—His Papers before the Brooks' Memorial and Monumental Association, the Acme Literary Association and at the Second Baptist Church.

“ He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.—*Marquis of Montrose.*”

The following paper was read before the Brooks' Memorial and Monumental Association, of which Capt. R. A. Paul is president:

“ Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not my purpose to make you a speech this evening, nor do I feel that my abilities are adequate to the occasion. For to speak of the grandeur of intellect, eloquence and magnanimity of soul of the subject of this meeting must be left to gentlemen of far more learning and ability than myself. But no man excels me in earnest devotion and warmth of admiration for the lamented Robert Peel Brooks. Therefore, I must ask your patience and indulgence for a few moments.

“ We come here to-night to honor and eulogize the life of one of the most learned and talented young men of our race in Virginia. We must admit that there are among us a large number of young men of learning and acknowledged ability, but for aptitude of thought, quickness of comprehension, and brilliancy of expression, Robert Peel Brooks exceeded all others.

“ Some people say that Mr. Brooks was able for a colored man. But allow me to say when I speak of him as a young man of unusual ability and consummate skill in his profession, I do not simply draw a comparison between him and young men of color; but I say that in his composing room, as an editor, at the bar, as a counsellor, and upon the hustings, as an orator, Robert Peel Brooks had but few equals and no superiors. Just

when his brilliant and towering mind was leading him to the top-most round of the ladder of fame and usefulness, he was laid low by the Hand that does all things well.

"We are here to honor his name, perpetuate his memory, and to arouse our young men to a spirit of emulation. Knowing his worth to us as a race and his value to Virginia as a State, we have organized an association to be known by the name of the Robert Peel Brooks' Memorial and Monumental Association. This organization is to conduct these services this evening, and to place over his grave a suitable monument as a token of our admiration and affection."

PAPER READ BEFORE THE C. S. L. CIRCLE.

The Chatauqua Scientific and Literary Circle, of which Captain R. A. Paul is a member, gave a Mock Congress at the Second Baptist Church, and invited Captain Paul to read the following paper entitled "The Danville Massacre":

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The question is asked, what caused the Bourbons of Danville, Va., to murder a number of colored citizens of that place last November?

To answer this inquiry we must invite your attention to a brief history of the political party whose leaders plotted the butchery of our fellow-men.

In 1869 the people of Virginia adopted a constitution as the basis of government of this State and, upon their solemn pledges that they would recognize the political equality of all men and that they would be loyal to the general government, the State was again admitted into the union of States.

From that time to 1880 the Democratic party had absolute control over the affairs of Virginia, and as soon as they thought themselves secure for all time to come, they began to break their solemn pledges.

The first idea which they conceived after returning to the Union was that they had humiliated themselves by consenting to the political equality of the Negro. They then tried to persecute the Negro as a source of revenge. For the punishment of the sable freeman the Bourbons thought that to revive the best and, to them, the most pleasing relic of slavery would best accomplish their wicked designs. Therefore they established the whipping-post for the humiliation of our people. For the purpose of benefiting foreigners at the expense of their own State, they assumed a public debt much greater than it honestly was and beyond the people's ability to pay.

They they placed a price on the ballot—that ballot which is the greatest boon of an American freeman and without which freedom would be a mockery. Then, as it were, they put the torch to the public schools of the Commonwealth and before the people could allay the flames thereof the educational system was almost destroyed.

In this threatening condition of affairs, at the moment when the crisis reached its highest point, that intellectual giant, General Mahone, sounded the tocsin of war. The people became alarmed and, with ballots in hand, rushed to the conflict, mounted to the parapet and routed the enemy from nearly every branch of the State government.

Although the Bourbons claimed that the Readjusters were repudiators and Negro lovers; that they favored social equality, the intermarriage of the races and Negro rule, and, therefore, were unfit for association with them, they stood the storm like a mighty rock and continued to prosper.

I can assure you that it is not a privilege mingled with joy to depart from my usual eulogies of a number of the white men of our State, for it has always been pleasant to me to speak of them in words of praise. And though I must speak of many of them now with shame and regret, yet, I can say that there are thousands of the brave sons of Virginia who will protect us if we only be true to ourselves and encourage them with our united support.

The Danville massacre was greater in atrocity than any crime known in the history of this State against the laws of God and humanity, save the actual commerce of man by man.

In ante-bellum times Virginia stood famous in the history of the nation as the mother of States and great men. She was truly the home of the brave, though not the land of the free. But with all her short comings on the question of slavery, she had a reputation for the production of men of noble deeds of valor of which any State might be envious.

But, alas! how different must the picture be drawn now, notwithstanding all the glory of her past history and the renown of

her gallant sons! She, at one stroke, buried her noble name in the lowest depths of infamy and stained her escutcheon with the blood of innocent men.

When the clock struck twelve on Saturday, November 3, 1883, the colored people of Danville were quietly attending to their work without any apprehension of immediate danger. When they were attending the market, purchasing the necessities of life for themselves and families, all at once they were rushed upon by the so-called Christian Caucasians of their city and shot down like flying robbers before the professional huntsman.

The question is asked, Why all this bloodshed? What have these citizens done to merit death? The answer comes, nothing; but they are Negroes, and intend to vote according to the dictates of their consciences.

When wives and children were anxiously awaiting the arrival of their husbands and fathers, they were confronted with the dead bodies of their only support. News came to others, like a mighty cyclone, informing them that their dear ones had fled to save their lives from a wicked and angry people.

These people claim to be loyal to the general government and yet, they make a foot-ball of the Constitution and trample the stars and stripes under their feet.

The Constitution says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States.

"No State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Every man who votes or holds office in this country, State or national, swears or affirms that he will support the Constitution

of the United States, and yet in the face of these facts men are shot down like vicious and dangerous brutes, to prevent them from exercising those rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Look, if you please, at these false pretenders of great loyalty to the country and see what horrible crimes they commit than for no higher purpose than to oppress us as a people and to gain political preferment.

Would any one suppose that it is the will of a majority of the white people of our State that we should be treated thus cruelly? It is not their wish. These evils are provoked and brought on by the meanest Democratic politicians.

As an example of their wicked methods to mislead the white men of this State, see what falsehoods were manufactured and sent out from Danville after the massacre: "The Bloody Negro Riot in Danville—White Men of Virginia Urged to be True to Their Own Race in the Race Conflict which Mahone has Brought About."

"If you only knew our suffering here you would vote different. We are standing in our doors with guns protecting our families."

They claimed to have been standing in their doors with guns protecting their families. Can that charge be true? No, it cannot be. We have lived here, protected and supported their families, too many years for them to induce any one to believe such slander against our race.

No, my friends; the truth is this: They had shot all the Negroes whom they could find, and were only waiting as the huntsman awaits the return of the foxes to their holes to shoot the first that put in his appearance.

It is difficult to convince some people that we must have all the privileges enjoyed by other citizens. But the American people are in earnest about this matter; and while we intend at all hazards to go to the conflict with unfaltering footsteps to do battle for the virtue and honor of our noble women and the education of our children, we believe that the good people of this country will render that assistance necessary to crush out any

political party opposed to the glorious principles of free thought, free speech and a free ballot.

If a foreigner comes here and gets his naturalization papers, and then visits his old country and is molested in any way, it is considered a great national indignity, for which the offending country must either apologize or prepare for war with all its horrors. But here, at our own hearthstone, where the beloved stars and stripes float, almost under the dome of the National Capital, the colored citizens are allowed to be shot down and murdered in cold blood for no cause save that they wish to use those privileges conferred upon them by the nation. Are we not entitled to protection at the hands of the American people?

For two hundred and fifty years we have labored, and, by our toil, have made this country rich and prosperous without any compensation.

A few years since, when the dear old flag was shot from the mast, when her sacred folds were being washed in the blood of her bravest sons, and when the American eagle drooped his wings as a token of sadness and fear, the country called for the help of the Negro, and two hundred thousand black braves offered their lives in defence of the Union. With the aid of their daring deeds of valor the Republic was saved.

Though the present prospect of the Negro seems a little dark, yet we look with hope to a just God and a generous people for that guidance and support which will enable us to steer with safety the bark of equal rights amidst the raging elements of an adverse world. For it is

“ Better to dwell in Freedom’s hall,
With a cold, damp floor and mouldering wall,
Than bow the head and bend the knee
In the proudest palace of Slaverie.”

ADDRESS BEFORE THE A. L. ASSOCIATION.

The following address was made at the Third-Street A. M. E. Church, before the Acme Literary Association on May 19, 1885:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We hope to convince you that the American Negro has been and is now a political factor of far greater importance in the governmental affairs of our State and country than he has been considered by many.

We want to satisfy your minds by the most conclusive evidence which can be furnished by facts and figures that the Negro has controlled the political complexion of this great nation for at least eight years.

But before going into details we desire to ask your indulgence and attention for a short time to the question, what should be the necessary qualifications of the political leaders of our people?

We find it to be true of the American people that though at times they are ready to strike down their fellow-countrymen at the point of the dagger and are so nearly evenly divided on political matters, yet when their country is invaded by the foreign foe they invariably unite for the common weal. We think that it should be likewise with the African American.

Though they differ in opinion, wealth, intelligence, society and many other things, as people of intelligence and worth must differ, yet when their race is assailed by its enemies, they should lay aside all differences and contend with pride of race and love of fireside for the general welfare.

The discreet and honest use of the political power of the Negro depends, in a great measure, upon the intelligence, courage and sincerity of his leaders. For the colored man to use his vote to the greatest advantage to his race and country, he must have safe leaders of his own race to advise him until, at least, he is more intelligent and better prepared to judge for himself.

We do not mean that white men must be dispensed with as leaders. On the contrary, we must encourage them to act in harmony with our leaders, and in time of political warfare we should be willing to allow them to name the commander-in-chief of the united forces.

If we would succeed in politics, we must have men of honest hearts and determined purposes; men who think deeply about the wants and needs of their people.

When we say that, to our mind, the politician is as of much importance to the political liberties of the people as the minister of the Gospel is to the salvation of the souls of men, we speak in all sincerity. But we do not mean to say that every man who may leap to the front and claim to be a leader, should be trusted with that grand and important office.

The men to lead the Negro should be selected with great care, because the masses of his people are, from circumstances over which they had no control, ignorant, and hence they are easily deceived by dishonest, trading politicians.

The paramount qualifications for leadership are common sense, courage and honesty. For no coward can be a good and safe representative, and a dishonest man should not be allowed to bargain away the liberties of the people.

And now we shall endeavor to show that the Negro is and has been a political factor of great significance in this country.

The political complexion of the executive, legislative and, in many cases, the judiciary branches of government of some of the largest and most important States of the Union have been decided and fixed by the casting vote of the African-American citizen.

A few years ago the people of our State were groaning under heavy taxes and laws too oppressive for the government of any free people. The political party then in power in Virginia asked the people no questions as to their wishes, and, like a monarch, they disregarded the petitions of those whom they governed. The public free schools were almost destroyed; the right of the

people to choose their rulers with a free and untrammelled ballot and the right of having their votes honestly counted after voting were universally violated by the Democratic managers. At the time when this tyrannical party thought itself invincible, some of their bravest leaders became restless and turned against them, and, with the help of the Negro, broke the back of Bourbon Democracy in Virginia.

Our representative men, speaking for their suffering constituencies, said to these gentlemen, "If you will give our children education; if you will give us a free ballot and an honest count; if you will allow colored men to set on juries in cases where our people are concerned, and give us an equal show in life with other citizens of Virginia, we will give your party the great mass of the votes of our people."

The new party accepted the offer of our leaders, took the van of the battle themselves, and with their forces, aided by the mighty army of colored voters, they defeated the most tyrannical political party that ever governed a free people.

Now, let us come to national politics, and I think we will find that the Negro has played no less an important part there, and has had no less influence in deciding what should be the political complexion of the national administration for the last eight years than he has in certain States of the Union.

While it is true that the great Republican party saved the flag of their country, freed and made the Negro the political equal of the white man, it is also true that, without the support of the Negro, the Bourbon Democratic party would have had control of this government eight years ago.

In 1876 a presidential election was held, in which contest R. B. Hayes and Wm. A. Wheeler were the candidates of the Republican party, and Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were the nominees of the Democratic party.

In the Hayes-Tilden election, the Republican nominees had to receive nineteen electoral votes from the South to elect them by one majority, and we need not tell you that no State south of

Mason and Dixon's line can go anti-Bourbon without the almost solid support of the colored citizen.

In that election Mr. Tilden carried five Northern States, which gave him sixty-eight electoral votes, and all the Southern States excepting three, which the colored man, having been invested with the right of suffrage, carried for Mr. Hayes. The Democratic nominee received from the South one hundred and sixteen electoral votes, making in all for Tilden and Hendricks one hundred and eighty-four votes. This was only one short of an election.

Mr. Hayes received from the Northern States one hundred and sixty-six electoral votes, which were nineteen short of an election. His party came to the poor black man of the South, and the sable freeman, with generosity, gave him the nineteen needed electors.

In the presidential election of 1880, General James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur were the nominees of the Republican party, and General Winfield S. Hancock and William H. English were the candidates of the Democratic party. The Democratic nominees received one hundred and forty-four electoral votes from the Southern States and twelve from the States of California, Nevada and Delaware. This made a total of one hundred and fifty-six, being twenty-nine short of an election. But how easily could the colored voters of the State of New York, with her thirty five electoral votes, have changed the result if they had voted with the Democracy?

The State went Republican by a majority of 20,842, and she has a colored voting population of 20,059. This makes a white Republican majority of 783. Now, suppose only 11,000 of the 20,000 Negroes voted and the remaining 9,000 stayed away from the polls, the Negro voters still held the balance of power. If they had voted the Democratic ticket General Hancock would have carried New York by about 1,000 majority.

The State of Ohio has a colored voting population of 21,706, and she gave General Garfield a majority of 26,105. This shows

that if the colored vote had been cast for the Democracy, the Bourbons would have carried the State by about 17,000 majority.

Indiana has a colored voting population of 10,739, and General Garfield carried the State by about 5,000 majority; so, if the Negro had polled his vote against the Republicans, General Hancock would have carried the State by a large majority.

General Garfield went into office March 4, 1881, with both branches of congress Republican, and they were made Republican by the votes of the African-Americans.

The senate stood—Democrats, 37; Republicans, 37, and one of the Republican senators was Hon. William Pitt Kellogg, of Louisiana, who was certainly elected by the votes of Negroes.

There were two independent senators—General Mahone, of Virginia, and Judge Davis, of Illinois.

General Mahone had been elected to the Senate by a coalition of liberal Democrats, liberal Republicans, and, we may say, the united support of the colored citizens.

Senator Davis was nominated by the Republican senators for president *pro tem.* of the Senate, but they needed one vote to elect him, and General Mahone supplied that one.

From that time General Mahone and Judge Davis voted with the Republicans, giving them thirty-nine senators against thirty-seven Democrats.

In 1883 Judge Davis went out of the Senate. He was succeeded by the eminent soldier and statesman, General John A. Logan. But his election did not give the Republicans control of the Senate. Virginia, again liberal and loyal in her national sentiment, sent Riddleberger, the plumed knight of the Valley, to assist General Mahone in keeping the Senate in the hands of the American National party. So Virginia, by the Negro casting his vote for the liberal white men, has been twice the balance of political power in the Senate of the United States. In 1880 the House of Representatives of the United States was made Republican by the same means and power. The colored citizens cast their votes for the candidates of the Republican party for Congress in their districts.

There were in the House one hundred and forty-seven Republicans and one hundred and forty-four Democrats, giving the Republicans a majority of three. Two of the Democrats were Readjusters, who were elected by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats. They voted with the Republicans, giving them one hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and forty-two Democrats.

The South gave seven anti-Bourbon congressmen, and the Republicans had seven majority on a full vote of the House. Now, if the Negroes had voted for the Democratic candidates for Congress, the Democracy would have had the same majority.

While the African-American has done so much for the Republican party and the preservation of the Union, and while I believe he has voted and fought on the right side on every occasion, yet I must confess that if the same valuable services had been rendered by any other people, they would have received more attention than we have from the Republicans.

But their failure to give us proper recognition is due to the prejudices of the American whites against us on account of our color and our former condition.

How can we meet and eradicate this feeling of prejudice? is the problem to be solved by us. I would suggest that we encourage our people to acquire intelligence and wealth; that we persuade them to break down feelings of envy and malice among themselves; that we encourage each other in professions, trades, and business.

The question may be asked, Can the Negro, with this immense power, be kept in his present abject condition? To this enquiry I answer, "No"; for if the signs of the times indicate anything, they tell a glorious future for the American black man.

Just nineteen years ago the Negro was made a freeman, and already we have found him in both branches of Congress and in the Legislatures of all the Southern States and in some of the Northern States.

We find the Negro minister plenipotentiary, representing this great government in the courts of foreign countries.

We find the Negro marshal of the Supreme Court of the United States for the District of Columbia; we find him register of the United States Treasury, and without his signature none of the paper currency of our national government can go into circulation.

We find him in the court, with the scales of justice, dispensing equity to the people; we find him as Doctor of Divinity, Medicine and Law.

I think that the facts which I have thus feebly adduced enable us to say with one acclaim, that the future prospects of the Negro for acquiring wealth and education, for receiving due recognition and power, are bright and glorious.

Now, may that Omnipotent Being, who is the source of all power and goodness, and whose benign influence rules the destiny of the universe, lend us His gracious guidance, that we may do that which is best for our race, and lead us with his gentle hand to peace, happiness and perpetual prosperity, for

“ By the hope within us springing,
Heralds of to-morrow's strife;
By that sun whose light is bringing
Chains or freedom, death or life.
Oh! remember, life can be
No charm for him who lives not free.”

A SKETCH
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OF
CAPT. R. A. PAUL.

AN AUTHENTIC AND ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF HIS CAREER FROM BOYHOOD
TO THE PRESENT TIME; CONTAINING A RELIABLE ACCOUNT OF THE
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By PROF. D. B. WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "THE NEGRO RACE, THE PIONEER IN CIVILIZATION," "A LECTURE ON THE
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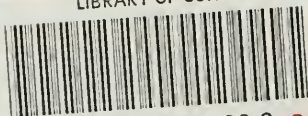
ERRATA.

Page 21, line 7 from top, for "The" read They.

Page 45, lines 9-10 from bottom, for "Virginia Grays," read Richmond
Light Infantry.



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